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# Style Typologies and Competitive Advantage.

Giovanni Formilan

University of Edinburgh Business School  
[Giovanni.Formilan@ed.ac.uk](mailto:Giovanni.Formilan@ed.ac.uk)

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## ABSTRACT

The concept of style is gaining momentum in organizational research. Focusing on its implications for strategy, this paper presents a conceptual and methodological framework to make the notion of style operational and applicable to both research and practice. Style is defined here as a combinatorial, socially situated, and semiotic device that can be organized into typologies – recurrent combinations of stylistic dimensions exerting a normative and semiotic function within and across contexts. The empirical analysis, situated in the field of electronic music, considers the music genres and the color dimension of artists' appearance as components of their style. Results show how coherent style typologies normatively dominate the field, and how nonconformist but coherent typologies correspond to superior creative performance. Operating as unifying device, style can transform varied and potentially confounding traits into distinctiveness, and shed light on competitive market dynamics that cannot be fully explained via other theoretical constructs. Discussion points to the relevance of style in strategy, and to the promising inclusion of information from visual material in organizational research.

**KEYWORDS.** Style typologies, Strategy, Color theory, Creative industries, Visual analysis, Competitive advantage.

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# Style Typologies and Competitive Advantage.

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“There’s pictures of Miles in his apartment [...], and you see his closet is filled with just the most fantastic leathers and suedes and silks and colors. And glasses and scarves and animal prints and... I mean, just the whole thing is very funky. And you know his original look was Brooks Brothers. When he was playing straight ahead jazz, he was always dressed in a very conservative way. He had an impeccable sense of style. Then, as the ’70s rolled in, he was with his wife, Betty Davis [...]. She kinda pushed him in that direction, and he became the funky Miles that we know.”

(Lenny Kravitz on Miles Davis; Houghton, 2018)

## INTRODUCTION

In 2001, the Icelandic singer Björk appeared on the red carpet of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Academy Awards wearing a swan-shaped dress. With the swan’s head dangling from one side of her neck, Björk’s outfit raised a passionate debate among journalists and fashion designers. Considering her artistic persona, however, Björk’s look choice did not raise much surprise. “The infamous swan dress... was as strange as the Icelandic singer herself” (Helwig, Galuppo, & Godley, 2015). In public perception, the musical uniqueness of Björk was perfectly consistent with her peculiar appearance.

Björk’s outfit decision is not an isolate incident. Artists and creative producers convey their creative voice not only through the content of their activity (design products, music, painting), but also via the form of their action (aesthetic choices, behaviors, and gestures). Often, as the opening quote on Miles Davis alludes to, decisions regarding an artist’s external appearance reflect personality traits, and evolve as one’s artistic identity develops in new and different directions.

The stories of Björk and Miles Davis are examples of how creative personalities are constructed and communicated through diverse combinations of content and form. Beside reflecting a producer’s identity, such combinations can also represent a source of competitive advantage that enables differentiation, distinctiveness, and strategic positioning. Whereas “straight ahead jazz” prompted Miles Davis to adopt a conservative appearance, his 1970’s “funky” look was more effective in locating his artistic persona within a more innovative jazz wave.

Despite their centrality in practice, however, little research has systematically investigated how producers’ content and form dimensions are related, and which effects their diverse combinations exert on market performance. This acknowledgment prompts two practical questions. First, how can different but related dimensions of a producer’s creative identity be treated holistically? Second, how is it possible to operationalize such combinations in order to produce evidence of their strategic relevance?

To shed preliminary light on these questions, I draw on the notion of style (Goodman, 1975,

1978; Meyer, 1989; Ross, 2003; Shapiro, 1994; Simmel, 1957, 1991) to holistically account for different dimensions of a producer's creative identity. Ubiquitous in organization studies (e.g., Covin & Slevin, 1988; Elsbach, 2009; Sgourev & Althuizen, 2014; Witkin, 1990), the notion of style has recently gained momentum as a concept holding promising implications for organizational research (Godart, 2018). Its contribution to strategy, however, remains largely unexplored in practice.

Joining this recent interest, I focus in this paper on the strategic implications of style, offering a framework to operationalize the concept in strategic terms, and presenting conceptual and methodological tools to grasp evidence of its relevance. I do this in three steps.

First, I introduce a definition of style organized around three primary elements. I consider style as a *combination* of aesthetically perceptible elements, pertaining to both the content and the form of an entity. Such combination is *socially situated* in space and time, and performs a *semiotic function* in respect to the entity and its external observers.

Second, moving from this definition, I illustrate a typological approach to style. Informed by the notion of organizational typologies (Chandler, 1962; Mintzberg, 1979), I define style typologies as recurrent arrangements of differently organized stylistic elements. Style typologies, intervening as normative, semiotic, and classificatory devices within a focal context (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Glynn & Navis, 2013), can be fruitfully used to outline industry-level dynamics of distinctiveness and competition.

Finally, I empirically explore style and style typologies in electronic music (Gilbert & Pearson, 1999; Reynolds, 1998; Thornton, 1996). Drawing on color theory (Elliot & Maier, 2007; Rosch, 1973) and categorization research (Durand & Paoletta, 2013; Glynn & Navis, 2013; Hsu & Hannan, 2005), I operationalize style typologies as coherent and incoherent combinations of musical eclecticism (Lena & Peterson, 2008) and visual garishness (Elliot & Maier, 2007), and proceed to test their normative and semiotic function.

Using an innovative methodology to manipulate visual material, I situate the analysis in an authoritative Top-100 industry ranking. I initially show that coherent style typologies dominantly characterize the identities of top performing artists in electronic music. Like in the case of organizational typologies (Greenwood & Hinings, 1988; Hannan, Pólos, & Carroll, 2007), coherent style typologies perform better on the market, and therefore tend to be adopted isomorphically by field's actors (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; R. R. Nelson & Winter, 1982).

I then discuss how style can be strategically manipulated by creative innovators to synthesize eclecticism within a consistent and unified message. Creative producers often span and experiment with multiple genres (Formilan & Boari, 2018; Lampel, Lant, & Shamsie, 2000) and, in doing this, they risk to convey ambiguous identities, confound their audiences, and undermine their market performance (Hsu, 2006). In force of its combinatorial nature, style can however work as a unifying semiotic device, turning nonconformist but coherent identities into effective means to respond to both the audience's desire for surprise and novelty (Lampel et al., 2000; M. Zuckerman, 2007) and its need for clarity and consistency (Hannan et al., 2007).

This paper contributes to the literature on organizational style and strategy both conceptually and methodologically.

On the one hand, proposing an operational definition of style, the paper informs the current interest in style as a promising concept for organization and strategy research (Godart, 2018; Sgourev, 2013; Sgourev & Althuizen, 2014). In particular, a typological approach remarks the centrality of style as relevant source of competitive advantage (Penrose, 1958; Porter, 1980, 1985; Stinchcombe, 1965). This holds promising insights for both scholars and practitioners. Analytically, style typologies can be used by strategy scholars to shed light on dynamics of competition that cannot be fully explained via other theoretical constructs. Operationally, companies and producers can adopt a typological perspective on their style to reinforce internal and external strategies (e.g., alliances and partnerships, communication and marketing mix, audience development) and more effectively align their various components (see Godart, 2018).

On the other hand, the paper presents a new methodological procedure to analyze visual material, and graphical solutions for its inclusion in scholarly research. Using a machine-assisted routine to extract quantitative information from images, the paper shows how to incorporate chromatic palettes in regression-based research designs. Further research in this direction could explore other possible uses of color and visual information as part of different analytical designs.

#### TOWARDS A CONCEPT OF STYLE FOR STRATEGY RESEARCH

##### **Style: Multidimensional, Socially Situated, Semiotic**

Since the early Eighties, organization scholars have turned their attention to “those elements or organizations which are already known, but which are not yet adequately represented in analyses – the sensuous, the mythical, the aesthetic, the cultural features of organizations” (B. A. Turner, 1990, p. 2). Among other constructs in this vein (see, for instance, Anand & Watson, 2004; Schein, 2010; Schüßler & Sydow, 2013), the concept of style has experienced great momentum. Style has been used in research on art (Sgourev, 2013; Sgourev & Althuizen, 2014), fashion (Crane, 1999; Godart, 2015), music (Hamilton, 2003), leadership and production choices (Covin & Slevin, 1988; Elsbach, 2009), identity and relational patterns (Godart & White, 2010; White, 1992), subcultures (Hebdige, 1979; Muggleton, 2000), genres and social categories (Bensaou, Galunic, & Jonczyk-Sédès, 2013; Lena & Peterson, 2008), and strategic decision-making in organizations (Cillo & Verona, 2008; Witkin, 1990), among others.

Ubiquitously employed as a unitary concept, the nature of style is however far from univocal. In a recent attempt to define the concept from an organizational perspective, Godart (2018) suggested that style should be understood as a durable and recognizable pattern of aesthetic choices. According to this perspective, organizations should keep in high consideration their stylistic choices, since these will be inevitably observed and evaluated by the different stakeholders to which they are exposed.

Aesthetic choices, however, entail a wide variety of dimensions. The Greek semantic roots of the term *aesthetic* (αἰσθητικός, related to the “perceptible things”) reference to all those dimensions that can be perceptually sensed. These include impalpable elements that can be

appreciated through the physical senses (e.g., the visible, the audible) or that acquire complete essence via emotion and intuition. Yet, a problem remains open: How should one cope with style as a unitary concept, and still retain and articulate its internal complexity?

To preliminary address this question, I problematize the definition of style drawing on the philosopher Nelson Goodman: “Style comprises certain characteristic features both of what is said and of how it is said, both of subject and of wording, both of content and of form” (Goodman, 1978, p. 27). Challenging the concept of style as mere reference to appearance (see also Ross, 2003; Wollheim, 1990), Goodman extended the boundaries of the concept further.

Obviously, subject is what is said, style is how. A little less obvious, that formula is full of faults. Architecture and nonobjective painting and most of music have no subject. Their style cannot be a matter of how they say something, for they do not literally say anything; they do other things, they mean in other ways. Although most literary works say something, they usually do other things, too; and some of the ways they do some of these things are aspects of style. (Goodman, 1975, p. 799)

To grasp the essence of style, according to Goodman, one has to pay attention to its *multidimensional* and *combinatorial* nature. As noted by Penelope Eckert (2004), “Stylistic practice involves a process of bricolage, by which people combine a range of existing resources to construct new meanings or new twists on old meanings” (2004, p. 43). Spanning multiple dimensions, style is a combinatorial construct. Its singularity unfolds throughout different domains, and articulates analytically into those dimensions that mostly matter in a focal discipline or context.

In addition to resulting from recombination of multiple dimensions, style also moves across different social context – spatially and temporally. Recombining resources from the environment, style is inevitably *socially situated*, open to contestation and negotiation (Sgourev & Althuizen, 2014). On the one hand, stylistic decisions are made with reference to the social environment that surrounds the agent; on the other hand, evaluation of style occurs by comparing the characteristics of a focal agent with the norms and codes culturally distributed in its contexts. Style is “put out into a community for the purpose of being interpreted” (Eckert, 2004, p. 44), and its social embeddedness constitutes simultaneously the source of stylistic elements, and the site of their validation.

As Georg Simmel observed in his seminal work on the sociology of fashion (Simmel, 1957, 1991), fashion embodies the profound tension that exists within humans between adhering to social groups and distinguish themselves from others. Similarly, style draws its constitutive elements from the environment – thereby supporting social adaptation – and recombines them in new ways – thereby satisfying the need for differentiation. In doing this, style constructs cultural and symbolic value (Aspers, 2006) and serves the important function of arranging the society into ordered, and sometimes opposite (Simmel, 1957), groups. Exemplary of this, underground cultures (Hebdige, 1979) draw the dimensions of their style from a shared cultural domain to construct and sustain a (sub)cultural field (Bourdieu, 1989, 2010; Williams & Copes, 2005).

Not only spatially, style is socially situated also temporally. As the opening quote alludes to, style may change as the entity evolves and updates its identity according to new events,

experiences, and phases of its life cycle (Clark, Gioia, Ketchen, & Thomas, 2010; Formilan & Stark, 2020; Sgourev & Althuizen, 2014). The relation between style and identity configures style as a *semiotic* device whose effectiveness is magnified by its combinatorial nature. Stylistic dimensions pertaining to different domains (of sight, of hearing, of emotion) concurrently point to the same entity. This has two consequences. First, the multidimensional signal conveyed through style helps external observers identify the entity (Godart, 2018) and assay its position, order, and rank in conceptual spaces (Kovács & Hannan, 2015). Second, different dimensions of style can be strategically mobilized by the entity. Like in the case of names (Formilan & Stark, 2020) or manipulation of symbolic capital (Jones, Anand, & Alvarez, 2005), style can be leveraged to communicate the entity's aspired or actual position, its role, and ultimately its identity. Through style, producers and organizations "can be made 'present' and 'affective' in the consciousness" of their stakeholders (Witkin, 1990, p. 192).

I therefore pose a definition of style that develops along the three aspects outlined so far. I define style as a combination of different elements, perceptible through the senses and pertaining to both the content and the form of an entity. Such combination is socially situated in time and space, and performs a semiotic function in respect to both the entity and its external observers.

### ***Typologies of Style***

Since long time, research in strategy has been attentive to organizational typologies, discussed in terms of different alignments between the structure and the strategy of organizations (Chandler, 1962; Mintzberg, 1979). Similar to style, organizational typologies are holistic concepts. They treat the many aspects of an organization as intimately intertwined, and are grounded on the idea that different organizational elements present, or at least should aspire to, a mutual coherence (Greenwood & Hinings, 1988; Miller & Friesen, 1984). Typological coherence is central to the proper functioning of organizations and markets (Freeman & Hannan, 1983; Greenwood & Hinings, 1988; Hannan et al., 2007; Hsu & Hannan, 2005), and deviations from coherence can pose problematic challenges to the organizations (Olson, Slater, & Hult, 2005; Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980; Spence, 1973). Consequently, some typologies tend to prevail in specific contexts, pushing competitors to adopt mimetic and isomorphic behaviors (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; R. R. Nelson & Winter, 1982).

In analogy with organizational typologies, the dimensions involved in the definition of a style can be arranged in more or less coherent ways (Sgourev & Althuizen, 2014), making it possible to organize style into typologies. As organizational typologies recurrently combine elements from a structural and strategic space, so style typologies can be conceived as recurrent combinations of elements from a symbolic and aesthetic space. The operationalization of style into typologies makes it possible to transfer the same analytical construct across contexts and use it as comparative tool to study competitive dynamics within the same contexts.

Consistent with the application of the concept in the empirical section of this paper, here I consider style as composed by two dimensions only – one related to an entity's content (which can be more or less specialist), the other to its form (which, similarly, can be more or less articulated).

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

Different combinations of the two dimensions determine different style typologies, which can be schematically organized into coherent and incoherent ones (Figure 1). Coherent typologies are those in which the form and the content of an entity resonate with each other and organically express its intrinsic values (Witkin, 1990) or properties. Because style typologies perform not only a classificatory function, but also a normative one, some style typologies will tend to prevail on others within a given context. In particular, coherent typologies that ease audience's task of identification will tend to bring higher competitive advantage to an entity compared to less or non-coherent ones.

### EMPIRICAL SETTING AND HYPOTHESES

To validate the construct of style typologies and offer preliminary evidence of its normative and semiotic functions, I analyze the functioning of style in a creative context, namely electronic music. As we shall see, I focus on the artists that have been included in the 2016's Top-100 ranking of the field, and analyze the sound (content) and color (form) dimensions of their style.

Creative industries are particularly well suited to investigate issues of style (Godart, 2015, 2018; Sgourev, 2013; Sgourev & Althuizen, 2014). In creative fields, primary importance is assigned not only to the content of products and producers, but also to the way products look like and producers behave and dress (Breward, 1998; Feinberg, Mataro, & Burroughs, 1992). Since the identification of the intrinsic qualities of products and producers in the creative industries is complicated by widespread uncertainty on both the demand and supply sides (Caves, 2000; Hirsch, 1972), the combinatorial and aesthetic nature of style can firmly guide people's understanding and evaluation. Althuizen and Sgourev (2014) are clear on this point. Creative industries are contexts "where innovation and the forging of a distinct style are necessary to attract attention and establish a reputation" (2014, p. 605). Moreover, the symbolic and cultural value associated with creative material is a primary source of consumers' self-identification (Hesmondhalgh, 2008; Williams & Copes, 2005). Therefore, a weak or incoherent style that poses obstacles to identity claims is likely to be harshly penalized.

Electronic music, centered on the club experience (Gilbert & Pearson, 1999; Reynolds, 1998), involves not only an impalpable sonic dimension, but also the physical presence of both the audience and the performer on the dance floor. People experience electronic music collectively during club events, and attend music venues on the basis of a common style shared by the place, the performing artist, and the audience (Thornton, 1996).

In this context, I therefore expect coherent typologies to occur more frequently in the distribution of style typologies of the artists in the Top-100 ranking – that is to say, of those artists that have been recognized as outstanding. Operationally, I hypothesize a tight relationship between the sound and visual dimensions of top-performing artists' style.

*Hypothesis 1.* Ceteris paribus, an eclectic sound dimension of style increases a focal artist's odds of displaying a garish visual dimension of style.



Producers of creative material often face a difficult challenge: be outstandingly innovative, but limit innovativeness below a certain threshold (Askin & Mauskapf, 2017; Hekkert, Snelders, & van Wieringen, 2003; E. W. Zuckerman, 2016). Although this issue is not a prerogative of the creative industries (i.e., Zhao, Fisher, Lounsbury, & Miller, 2017; Zuckerman, 2016), it is in this type of industries that it takes on critical lineaments (Uzzi & Spiro, 2005). In fact, audience members in creative fields have been showed to look for novel, unexpected and surprising experiences (Lampel et al., 2000; M. Zuckerman, 2007), but creative products that exceed a certain threshold of complexity are systematically penalized on the market (Askin & Mauskapf, 2017; Formilan & Boari, 2018).

In electronic music, the abundance of genres and subgenres (McLeod, 2001) and the ease at which, through technologies of production and diffusion (Hofer, 2006; A. J. Nelson, 2015), artists can move from one genre to another both increase the risk of displaying ambiguous identities. From a music-only perspective, the creative identities of electronic music artists therefore tend to entail ambiguity and category-spanning traits that could undermine their recognition (Hsu, 2006; Hsu & Hannan, 2005; E. W. Zuckerman, Kim, Ukanwa, & von Rittmann, 2003).

Since creative and cultural markets tend to favor sharp and unambiguous identities but, at the same time, to consecrate renaissance producers (DeFillippi, Grabher, & Jones, 2007; Jones et al., 2005), artists can purposefully match a content that deviates from established genre-based practices with a nonconformist form that enhances their eclectic creative identity.

As noted by a top-performing electronic music producer I interviewed in Berlin, building a unified story for a very diversified output represents an effective way to transform musical eclecticism into a distinctive identity. The multidimensional semiotic function of style can help producers synthesize genre-spanning eclecticism into distinctiveness, and communicate a coherent renaissance identity that stands out, and can be deemed outstanding.

*Hypothesis 2. Ceteris paribus, artists with a coherently nonconformist style that combines music eclecticism and visual garishness are more likely to occupy top positions in the industry ranking.*

### ***Style in practice: sound and visual dimensions through genre and color categories***

Hearing and sight, especially when they are congruent one to another, deeply influence the way most complex living beings experience the world (e.g., Pihlajamäki, 1990). Danger is perceived higher when communicated by annoying sounds paired with vivid colors; dark shades and grave tones usually evoke fearing situations, while happy and enjoyable events tend to be colorful and brightly sounding.

In the music industry, sound and image are the two most relevant loci of attention. The sound dimension is by itself the content of music products – even in John Cage’s 4’33”, where the absence of sound is central to the listening experience. The sonic properties of music are a concern not only for musicologists and sound engineers (A. J. Nelson, 2015), but also for marketers (Ellis, Whitman, Jehan, & Lamere, 2010) and, ultimately, listeners (Askin & Mauskapf, 2017; Lena & Peterson, 2008).

The visual dimension has a profound relevance in music as well. In an intriguing work, Tsay (2013) proved that both experts and casual listeners, while assigning higher importance to the sound dimension over the visual one, identified the winner of a piano competition more easily by looking at a muted video recording (50%) than by only listening to the performance (30%).

One of the most fascinating and mysterious elements of the visual dimension is color. According to Eleonore Rosch (1973), “the domains of color and form are structured into nonarbitrary, semantic categories which develop around perceptually salient ‘natural prototypes’” (1973, p. 330). Colors work as natural reference points (Rosch, 1975) in a way analogous to symbols (Jung, 1964; B. A. Turner, 1990).

Colors have a primary role in marketing communication. Colors carry an aesthetic stimulus that attracts the attention of consumers (Schindler, 1986), helps them remember different brands (Lightfoot & Gerstman, 1998), and enhances the experience related to packaging (Garber, Burke, & Jones, 2000), product customization (Deng, Hui, & Hutchinson, 2010), logo design (Bottomley & Doyle, 2006), in-store experience (Kotler, 1973) and advertisements (Gorn, Chattopadhyay, Tracey, & Dahl, 1997; Lohse & Rosen, 2001). The communicative power of colors derives from the association consumers make between what they observe and their memories and feelings (Meyers-Levy & Zhu, 2010), an association that supports search and identification tasks by leveraging moods and emotions (Valdez & Mehrabian, 1994).

Despite vast research, scientific evidence of the effects of colors is often weak, ambiguous, or contradictory (Labrecque, Patrick, & Milne, 2013), and a comprehensive theory of colors is still to come (Elliot & Maier, 2007). From a strategy perspective, however, I argue that the meaning of colors can be captured by considering them as contextually situated and negotiated within social groups. A color, or a combination of colors, acquires profound meaning only through its comparison with the colors that dominate a specific environment. Under this perspective, some color palettes will deviate from the context-specific dominant palette, while some others will adhere to the set of colors widely adopted in a field. As a dimension of style, I suggest that color is contextualized and socially relevant (Eckert, 2004; Goodman, 1978), and that actors can differentiate themselves from other competitors in a given field using colors as signaling means (Spence, 1973). In the following analysis of style in electronic music, I therefore focus on the sound and color dimension of artists’ style.

## **DATA, METHODS AND VARIABLES**

### ***Data***

I test my hypotheses on the population of electronic music artists listed in the 2016’s Top-100 DJ ranking, compiled by the influential magazine *residentadvisor.net* (Resident Advisor L.t.d., 2016; hereinafter, RA). According to the editors’ introduction to the annual ranking, the artists that appear in the Top-100 list are the ones that have delivered the best sensorial and artistic experience to club attendees in the previous 12 months.

### ***Analytical manipulation of the sound dimension of style***

I computed the level of eclecticism of each artist’s sound dimension using a simplified version of the category-spanning measure largely employed in categorization theory (Hsu,

2006; E. W. Zuckerman, 1999) that counts the number of diverse categories used to classify a focal item.

As classificatory categories, I considered the sub-genres ascribed to a focal artist's music by the online marketplace *beatport.com*, a place where DJs and field professionals can purchase music tracks in digital format. The decision to rely on Beatport rather than on other available sources (i.e., the specialized user-contributed repository *Discogs*; Formilan & Boari, 2018; Montauti & Wezel, 2016) has been informed by the genre-driven functioning of the DJ business. In order to position themselves within the field, DJs need to develop a distinctive sound organized around music tracks that fit with a specific genre (and sub-genre). The fact that an artist's production has been listed within multiple sub-genre categories in a DJ-oriented marketplace is a signal that the artist is well suited to participate in different sound-specific track lists, and club events thereby. In other words, the dividing line between sub-genres is more decisive in Beatport's classification than in other classification data sources.

I operationalized musical eclecticism as a binomial variable that takes value 0 if the number of sub-genres assigned to a focal artist's production falls within the range (1, 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile] of the overall distribution, and 1 otherwise. The decision to take the 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile as upper bound of the eclecticism range is largely arbitrary, but backed up by the genre-recombining nature of electronic music (Reynolds, 1998), which makes most artists be categorized in a number of diverse sub-genres.

### ***Analytical manipulation of the visual dimension of style***

To account for the visual dimension of artists' style, I developed an analytical routine that combines algorithm-assisted image processing and color extraction with manual coding of the resulting visual material. For the manual selection and coding part of the routine, I collaborated with an additional researcher, who performed the manual tasks independently. The second researcher was a female, which ensured a higher accuracy of the processing of colors since females tend to have a higher sensibility for different tints (Rodríguez-Carmona, Sharpe, Harlow, & Barbur, 2008).

As raw visual data, I retrieved the six most frequently used photographs of each artist in my sample from Google Image Search. The PageRank algorithm implemented in the Google search engine (Page, Brin, Motwani, & Winograd, 1998) ensures that the first images delivered by a keyword-based search recur most often in press releases, webpages, and event announcements, and are therefore the most representative of an artist's visual identity.

I limited the selection of photographs to six because this number was the common denominator of available photographs of each artist in my sample. As a robustness check, however, I applied the analytical routine to 10 photographs, and results were consistent with the analysis run on the smaller sample. Given my focus on the strategic manipulation of style, only in-studio shootings were included in each artist's photograph set, thus excluding images from live concerts and photographs took by amateurs and fans. For 16 artists it was not possible to collect six studio-based images, and regression models therefore include a dummy variable to control for this difference.

I developed a customized analytical routine and used it to construct the color palette of each artist's 6-image selection. The routine is composed of four phases (Figure 2). First, it

combines the 6 photographs of each artist into a single image file. Second, it creates a matrix composed of vectors that, for each pixel of the image, store its RGB color components in numeric representation. Third, the routine computes the mean values of each color component, and uses them to define the cluster centers. Finally, the routine aggregates the pixel-based vectors into clusters. The clustering algorithm, developed by Hartigan and Wong (1979), minimizes the sum of squares from the set of data points to the centers of the assigned clusters. I used  $k=8$  as base number of clusters. To validate the measure, I also increased the number of clusters up to 12, but comparison of the resulting color palettes revealed no significant difference.

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

For each artist, the result of the routine is an 8-color palette that accounts for the most relevant colors in the corresponding 6-photographs aggregate. As a final step, I and the second researcher manually coded the palettes by counting the number of different colors appearing in each of them (Figure 3). Value 1 was assigned to those palettes with more than 2 colors (the mean number of colors in the whole set of palettes), and 0 to the remaining palettes. This binomial variable reflects the level of visual garishness of each artist.

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

Additionally, I also paid attention to a number of features of each image set in order to develop additional markers of visual consistency. I considered the number of images in which the artist smiles, looks at the camera, and wears hats or glasses as distinctive dress elements. I used this information to construct an alternative measure of the focal artist's deviance from the visual stereotype of electronic music.

### ***Statistical methods***

Given the novelty of both the conceptual framework and the analytical routine, I opted for a combination of regression models (see Table 1) and different forms of data visualization to test my hypotheses. For testing Hypothesis 1, I relied primarily on logistic regression models and used ordered and penalized logistic regression models to check the robustness of the estimates. For testing Hypothesis 2, I used ordinary least square regression and ordered logistic regression models with differently specified measures of the same dependent variable.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

### ***Dependent Variables***

For Hypothesis 1, I computed three dependent variables and used them in different regression models, as presented in Table 1.

First, *Visual Garishness* is a binary measure that takes value 1 if the color palette of the focal artist includes at least 2 colors in addition to a base shaded tonality, and 0 otherwise.

Second, *Color Inconsistency* is a binary variable that captures the level of between-image color inconsistency of the focal artist. It summarizes the information derived from the scrutiny of the palettes of the individual images included in each artist's image set. The process of construction of the variable followed three steps. First, I and the second researcher independently grouped the 6 color palettes of each individual photograph of the

focal artist on the basis of their color similarity (e.g., all the palettes that are just shades of a unique color; all the palettes that have red as an additional color), and counted the resulting number of groups. Second, we counted the number of individual palettes that included only shades of the same color. Finally, I considered the ratio between the first and second piece of information, and coded the variable *Color Inconsistency* accordingly. The variable takes value 1 if the ratio is equal or larger than 0.133 (the first quartile of the distribution), and 0 otherwise.

Finally, *Icon Defection* is a binary variable that reflects whether a focal artist's image set communicates deviance from the visual stereotype of the electronic music artist. The variable takes value 1 if the image set of a focal artist has one or more of the following characteristics: 1) the corresponding palette has 2 or more colors, 2) the artist smiles in at least 4 photographs, 3) the artist wears black in only 2 or fewer photographs.

For Hypothesis 2, I computed two dependent variables. *Ranking Position* is a continuous variable that accounts for the position of each artist in the RA's 2016 ranking. *Ranking Position Decile* is a multinomial variable that aggregates the artists depending on the decile in which they ranked. This variable is used in the robustness check model (ordered logistic regression) and for the graphical depiction of the ranking distribution.

### ***Independent Variables***

As main regressor for testing Hypothesis 1, the binary variable *Sound Eclecticism* takes value 1 if the music of a focal artist has been ascribed to 9 or more sub-genres (third quartile of the overall distribution), and 0 otherwise.

For testing Hypothesis 2, I constructed four style typologies on the basis of the visual and sound dimension of each artist's style. The four typologies, operationalized as binary variables, are: 1) *Garish Eclectic*, 2) *Garish Specialist*, 3) *Plain Eclectic*, and 4) *Plain Specialist*.

### ***Control Variables***

Each regression model includes a number of control variables.

To control for confounding effects operating at the level of the visual dimension, I included eight control variables. *B&W Photos* is a continuous variable that counts the number of black and white photographs in each artist's image set. Intuitively, the more photographs are colorless, the lower the garishness of the resulting palette. *At the camera*, *Smile*, *Dark*, *Hat* and *Glasses* are all binary variables that take value 0 if the number of photographs in which the artist, respectively, looks at the camera, smiles, wears black clothes, wears a hat, and wears glasses is equal to or higher than 3, and 1 otherwise. These five variables account for the focal artist's tendency to adopt a coherent attitude or wear the same clothing details across photographs. *Live photos* is a binary variable that takes value 1 if the image set of a focal artist includes images from live concert situations (two cases), which tend to be generally more colorful. *Duplicated photos* is a binary variable that controls for the presence of duplicated photographs in the focal artist's image set (two cases). *Number of In-studio photos* is a continuous variable that counts the number of photographs in each artist's image set that have been taken in an in-door studio.

At the level of the sound dimension, I controlled for three effects. *Main subgenre* is a multinomial variable that controls for the sub-genre to which the artist's music has been ascribed more often. This variable allows to refine the main regressor's coefficient by

excluding the effect related to the specific subgenre for which the artist is mostly known. *Unusual multiple-subgenre membership* is a measure derived from Goldberg, Hannan and Kovács (2016). It reflects how atypical is the focal artist's membership to multiple subgenres, thus removing biases from the estimation of the effect of the main regressor. Finally, *Hardness* is a multinomial variable that controls for the mood of the main sub-genre in which the artist's music has been ascribed to more often. The rationale behind the inclusion of this variable is that subgenres that tend to be softer and more harmonious might be associated with more colorful palettes, while dark and mechanical subgenres are usually linked to dark colors and black tints. This variable has been computed by drawing from the spatial map developed by The Echo Nest that, using a fuzzy distribution, locates each genre and sub-genres in a two-dimensional space in which "down is more organic; up is more mechanical and electric; left is denser and more atmospheric; right is spikier and bouncier" ([www.everynoiseatonce.com](http://www.everynoiseatonce.com)). I loosely relied on these distinctions and assigned a value within the range [-3; 3] to the sub-genres in my data. Figure 4 shows a modified version of the original map, with the main sub-genre appearing in my data and the corresponding value assigned to them.

[Insert Figure 4 about here]

Finally, at the artist level, I included four control variables. *Number of releases* is a continuous variable that counts the number of releases published by each artist over time, as reported in the Discogs' profile of each artist. The volume of a focal artist's releases is likely to affect his or her position within the industry ranking. *Gender* is a binary variable that controls for the gender of the focal artist. *Band* is a binary variable that distinguishes duo or trio acts from solo artists. *Ethnicity* is a multinomial variable that controls for the (apparent) ethnicity of the focal artist. The levels of this variable are Caucasian, African/African American, Asian, and Latin American, and the variable is aimed at ruling out the effects that might be related to the artist's geographical position and attitude towards colors and sounds.

## RESULTS

Table 2 reports the descriptive statistics and Pearson correlation matrix of the variables entering the various regression models. Please note that not all the variables are used in all the models (in particular, some control variables have been excluded from certain models either on the basis of theoretical reasons, or because they impeded the computation of the relevant estimates), and that alternative measures of the same constructs never participate in the same estimation of the coefficients. Figure 5 shows the ordered palettes of the sampled artists (1 black and white palette has been removed to accommodate the remaining 99 in a balanced way). Visually, the dominant palette of the field is composed by shades of the same color, from black to white.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

[Insert Figure 5 about here]

Hypothesis 1 is supported (Table 3). Models 1 to 5 show how the visual garishness of an artist increases with the complexity of his or her musical eclecticism. In terms of typological coherence of style, 73% of the ranked artists present a style that coherently combines sound

and visual dimensions (Figure 6). Not only the color palette of each artist is more garish if his or her sound dimension is eclectic, but the same relation is valid also for others specifications of the visual dimension – namely, color inconsistency and defection of the field’s visual stereotype (Figure 6).

[Insert Table 3 about here]

[Insert Figure 6 about here]

Hypothesis 2 is robustly supported as well (Table 4, Table 5). The more the style of an artist is coherently nonconformist (Type 1. Garish Eclectic), the more likely the focal artist will occupy the upper echelon of the industry ranking.

[Insert Table 4 about here]

[Insert Table 5 about here]

Figure 7 and Figure 8 visually present, respectively, the decile-wise and full distribution of the style typologies over the Top-100 ranking. While the typologies that occur more frequently (Type 3 and Type 4) are homogeneously distributed over the whole ranking, artists with a Type 1 style largely aggregate in the 1-10 and 11-20 positions of the ranking. On the contrary, artists with a Type 2 style (incoherent) tend to occupy lower positions.

[Insert Figure 7 about here]

[Insert Figure 8 about here]

## DISCUSSION

Especially in creative and cultural industries, style is central to the experience of consumers (Breward, 1998; Feinberg et al., 1992). Being effortless perceptible through physical senses and emotions, style can be an extremely powerful means of communication (Althuizen & Sgourev, 2014; Godart, 2018; Godart & Claes, 2017) and a source of in-group identification (Hebdige, 1979; Tajfel, 1972, 1974; J. C. Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

In this paper, I built on the sociology of style (Goodman, 1975, 1978, Simmel, 1957, 1991), the categorization perspective (Durand & Paoletta, 2013; Glynn & Navis, 2013; Vergne & Wry, 2014), and color theory (Elliot & Maier, 2007; Rosch, 1973, 1975) to contribute to the current interest for style in organizational and strategic research (Godart, 2018; Godart & White, 2010; Sgourev & Althuizen, 2014).

Particularly in creative and innovation-driven markets, where symbolic, aesthetic, and cultural capital are largely mobilized (Becker, 1984; Bourdieu, 1989, 2010; Hirsch, 1972), style typologies lay the groundwork for better understanding those dynamics that cannot be fully explained via other theoretical constructs. Just as organizational typologies summarize a company’s material and organizational assets (Chandler, 1962; Mintzberg, 1979), so style typologies hold potential to highlight the aesthetic asset of organizations and reveal a different source of competitive advantage (Penrose, 1958; Porter, 1980, 1985; Stinchcombe, 1965). Creative industries, in this sense, represent an ideal setting to investigate the advantages style typologies bring to market participants – in creative industries, the valuation of products and producers is prone to widespread uncertainty (Caves, 2000;

Hirsch, 2000), and value is largely a matter of social negotiation and competing evaluative criteria (Becker, 1984; Stark, 2011).

The strategic implication of style thus become evident. Moving beyond operational effectiveness, essential strategies need to carve a company's unique positioning and ensure sustainable fitness among organizational dimensions (Porter, 1996). Style, as a combinatorial and unifying device, therefore represents a critical tool to address these competitive challenges in a more effective way. This is particularly salient today, as a larger part of the value of economic production is becoming more symbolic and dematerialized, and the visual dimension of products and producers is increasingly central to the strategic planning of online marketing. The possibility to measure and analyze the style of producers, companies, and industries via style typologies offers a promising guidance to practitioners to further emphasize the value of their production. At the same time, it provides organizational scholars with an analytical tool to enhance the study of competition, strategy, and markets.

This paper also presented a novel methodology to extract and use information from visual sources. Theoretically grounded, the analytical routine I developed informs a strategy approach to colors. Rather than focusing on the specificities of colors and their independent effects, organization scholars can benefit from considering the influence of colors within the chromatic boundaries of specific contexts. Colors are effective conveyors of information (Rosch, 1973), yet the type of message they communicate largely depends on the context in which communication occurs. As I argued and operationalized in this paper, a comparative approach to colors – and their aggregation into dominant and deviant color palettes – can bring insightful results in the domain of color perception, marketing research, and the psychology of colors.

In my research design, I used the results from the analysis of photographic material as quantitative variables in multivariate regression. Other methodologies could yet fruitfully accommodate image-derived variables. Among others, for instance, social sequence analysis (Abbott, 1990; Formilan, Ferriani, & Cattani, 2019) could consider image-based state spaces and produce unexpected insights into aesthetic trajectories in the arts or in the design of corporate logos, advertisements, and product specifics. Important efforts are currently made to advance the use of visual material in organizational research (e.g., Shortt & Warren, 2019), but further research is needed to refine applicative tools and enlarge the scope of their use.

Finally, the findings of this paper present useful evidence also for creative producers and professionals in the creative and cultural industries. Style can unify complex stories, and storytelling is central to effective communication. Creative innovators, in particular, can benefit from a strategic attitude towards style. By combining content and form in a coherent and consistent typology, style helps creative and complex innovations not only overcome the resistance to change that characterizes most consumers (Laukkanen, Sinkkonen, Kivijarvi, & Laukkanen, 2007; Ram & Sheth, 1989), but also receive consecrating acclaim from the market.



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Figure 1. Different combinations of form and content dimensions of style configure coherent and incoherent style typologies.

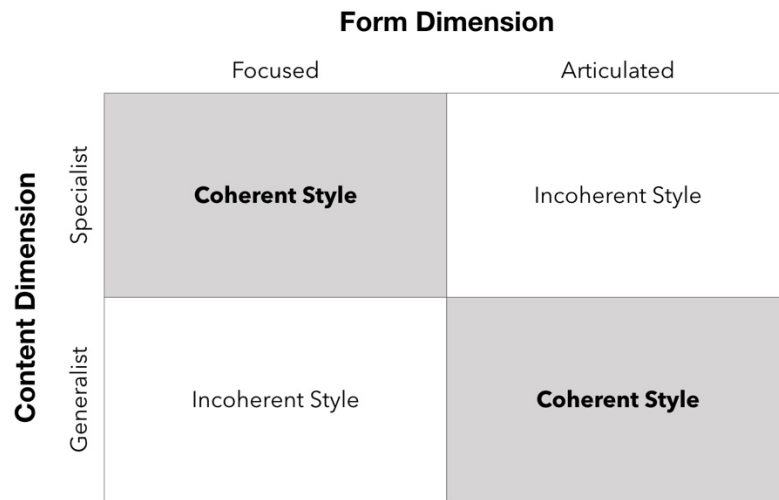


Figure 2. Outline of the computer-assisted routine used to manipulate photographic material.

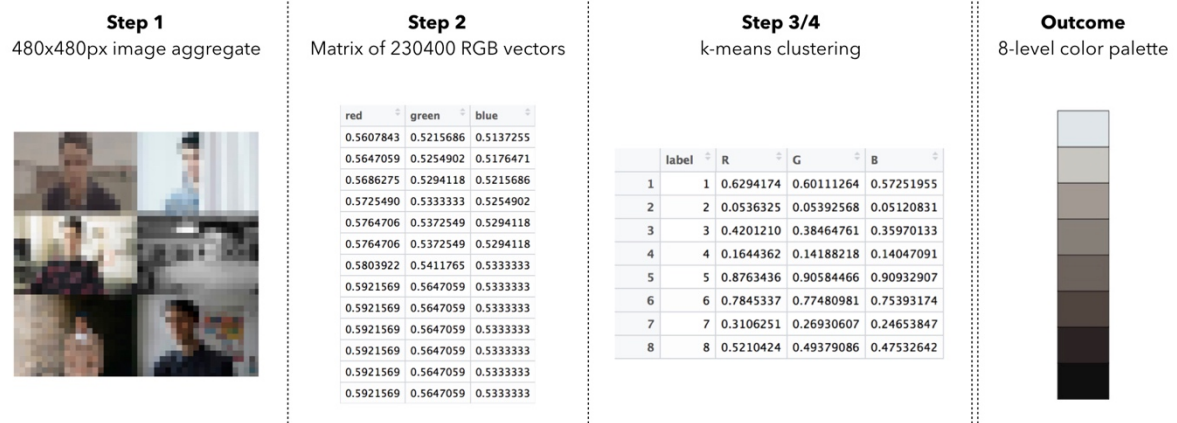


Figure 3. Manual coding of the color palettes resulting from the computer-assisted routine.

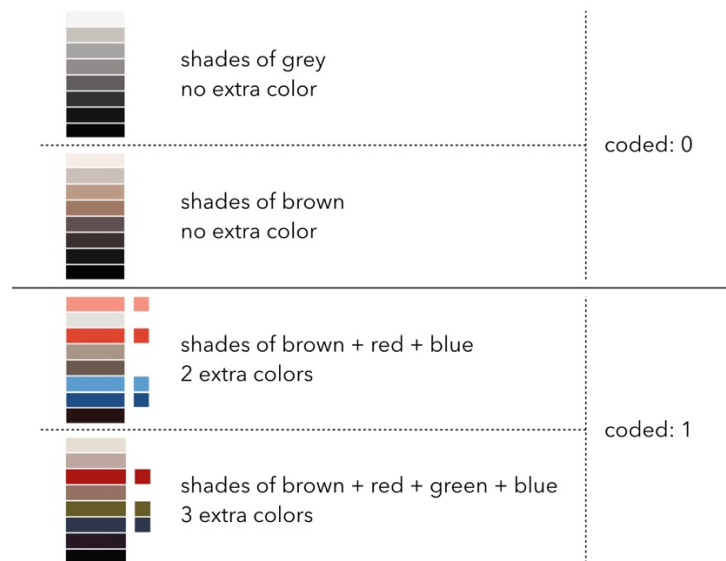


Figure 4. Map of electronic music sub-genres, with values assigned to the main sub-genres in the sample (modified from [www.everynoiseatonce.com](http://www.everynoiseatonce.com)).

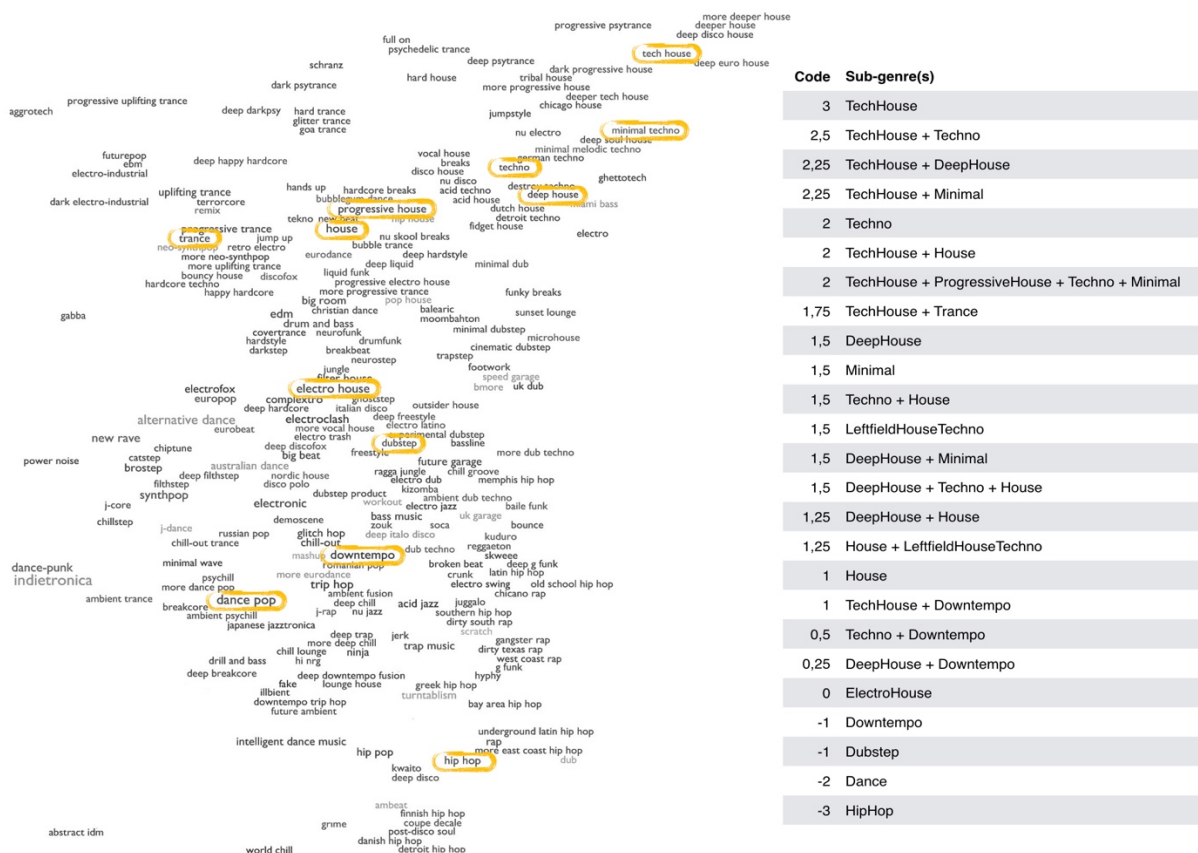




Figure 5. Color palettes of the artists in the sample, manually ordered (one black and white palette removed for presentation clarity).

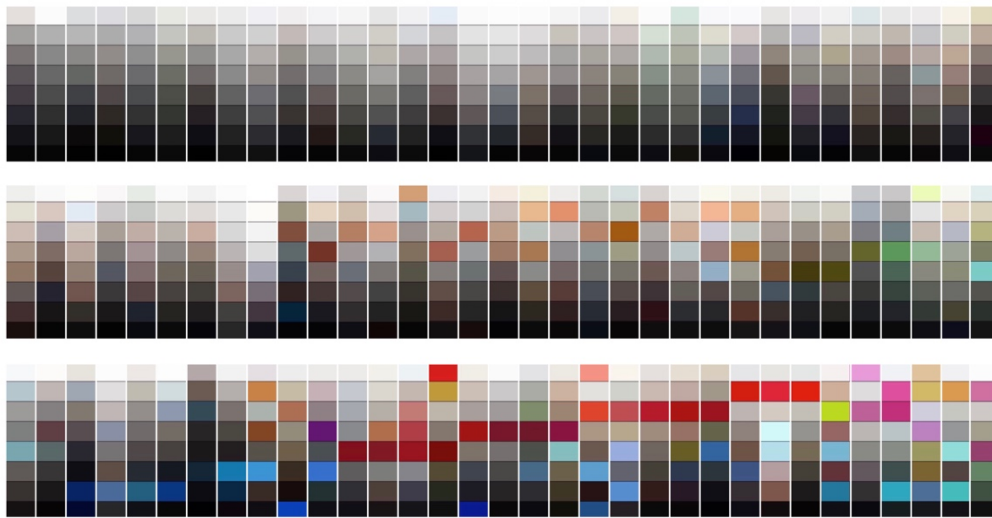


Figure 6. Distribution of relevant measures and style typologies in the sample.

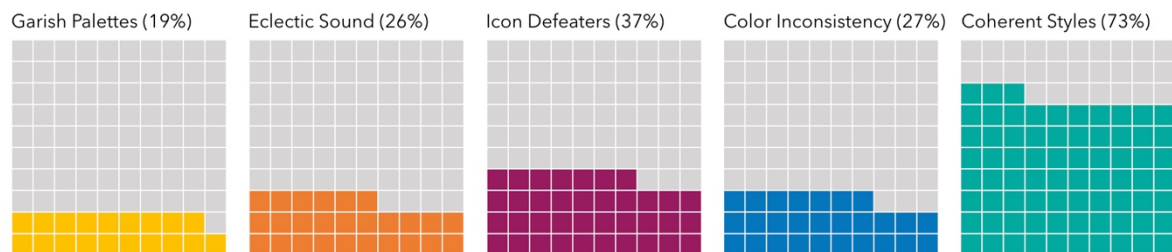


Figure 7. Decile-wise ranking distribution of each style typology (percentages represent within-group proportions).

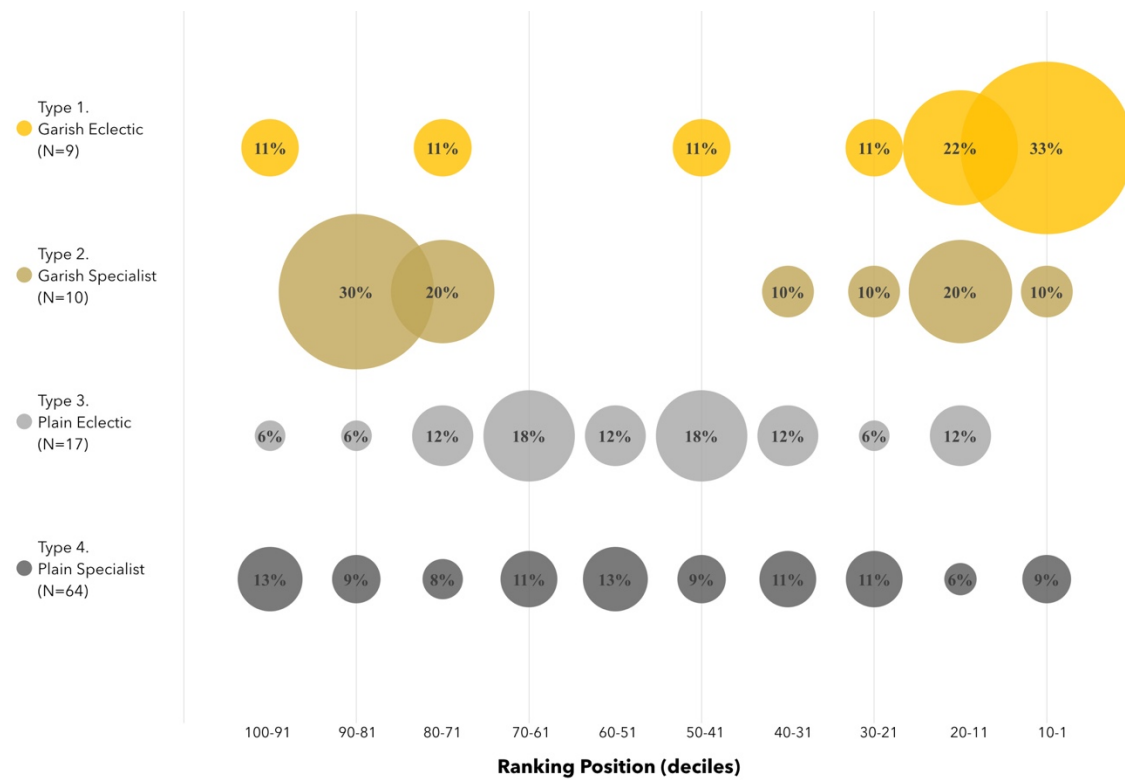


Figure 8. Full ranking distribution of style typologies.



Table 1. Overview of the regression models used to test the hypotheses (method, dependent variable, and main regressors)

	<i>Model No. and Regression Type</i>	<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Main Regressor(s)</i>
Hypothesis 1	1 (L), 2 (L), 5 (PL), 6 (L), 7 (L)	Visual Garishness	Musical Eclecticism
	3 (L)	Color Inconsistency	Musical Eclecticism
	4 (L)	Icon Defection	Musical Eclecticism
Hypothesis 2	8 (OLS), 9 (OLS), 11 (QR)	Ranking Position	4 Style Typologies
	10 (OL)	Ranking Position Decile	4 Style Typologies

*Codes.* L: logit; PL: penalized logit; OLS: ordinary least squares; QR: quantile regression; OL: ordered logit

Table 2. Descriptive statistics and Pearson correlation matrix (N=100).

	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max	1.	2.	3.
1. Ranking Position	50.500	29.011	1	100			
2. Ranking Position Decile	5.500	2.887	1	10	0.995*		
3. Type1. Garish Eclectic	0.090	0.288	0	1	0.195+	0.201*	
4. Type 2. Garish Specialist	0.100	0.302	0	1	0.006	0.000	-0.105
5. Type 3. Plain Eclectic	0.170	0.378	0	1	-0.040	-0.042	-0.142
6. Type 4. Plain Specialist	0.640	0.482	0	1	-0.089	-0.087	-0.419*
7. Visually Garishness	0.190	0.394	0	1	0.147	0.146	0.649*
8. Musical Eclecticism	0.260	0.441	0	1	0.093	0.095	0.531*
9. Icon Defection	0.370	0.485	0	1	-0.018	-0.011	0.410*
10. Color Inconsistent	0.270	0.446	0	1	0.103	0.106	0.517*
11. B&W Photos	2.040	1.669	0	6	-0.101	-0.109	-0.218*
12. Smile	0.730	1.100	0	5	0.057	0.062	0.046
13. At the camera	3.910	1.518	0	6	-0.035	-0.043	-0.074
14. In-studio photos	2.670	1.770	0	6	0.118	0.110	0.138
15. Hat	0.540	1.403	0	6	-0.066	-0.070	-0.122
16. Glasses	1.120	1.849	0	6	0.012	0.017	0.131
17. Hardness	1.528	1.205	-3	3	0.151	0.164	0.029
18. N. of produced subgenres	6.990	3.186	1	17	0.152	0.144	0.431*
19. Unusual multiple-subgenre membership	0.473	0.112	0	0.550	0.209*	0.192*	0.155
20. Number of releases	30.160	29.319	1	153	0.054	0.052	0.188
21. Live photos	0.160	0.368	0	1	-0.244*	-0.237*	-0.137
22. Duplicated photos	0.030	0.171	0	1	-0.103	-0.112	-0.055
23. Gender	1.920	0.273	1	2	0.126	0.128	0.093
24. Band	1.920	0.273	1	2	-0.052	-0.038	0.093
25. Main subgenre	14.800	7.602	1	25	-0.051	-0.030	-0.052
26. Ethnicity	3.730	0.723	1	4	0.096	0.090	-0.076
27. Nationality	12.490	6.076	1	19	-0.016	-0.026	0.044

(Continued)

	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
5. Type 3. Plain Eclectic	-0.151						
6. Type 4. Plain Specialist	-0.444*	-0.603*					
7. Visually Garishness	0.688*	-0.219*	-0.646*				
8. Musical Eclecticism	-0.198*	0.764*	-0.790*	0.236*			
9. Icon Defection	0.435*	-0.126	-0.418*	0.632*	0.160		
10. Color Inconsistent	0.323*	-0.095	-0.435*	0.624*	0.256*	0.514*	
11. B&W Photos	-0.329*	0.053	0.294*	-0.411*	-0.097	-0.380*	-0.489*
12. Smile	-0.009	-0.059	0.024	0.026	-0.020	0.189+	0.006
13. At the camera	0.130	0.027	-0.058	0.046	-0.025	0.059	-0.023
14. In-studio photos	-0.127	0.085	-0.070	0.004	0.163	-0.221*	-0.103
15. Hat	-0.033	0.130	-0.008	-0.114	0.032	-0.118	0.071
16. Glasses	0.105	-0.030	-0.121	0.176+	0.060	0.141	0.291*
17. Hardness	-0.126	0.001	0.061	-0.075	0.020	-0.208*	-0.103
18. N. of produced subgenres	-0.178+	0.598*	-0.614*	0.178+	0.793*	0.107	0.236*
19. Unusual multiple-subgenre membership	-0.054	0.178+	-0.198*	0.072	0.253*	0.018	0.197*
20. Number of releases	-0.223*	0.426*	-0.305*	-0.034	0.487*	-0.150	-0.040
21. Live photos	0.036	0.093	-0.014	-0.072	-0.010	0.231*	0.103
22. Duplicated photos	-0.059	-0.080	0.132	-0.085	-0.104	-0.013	-0.107
23. Gender	-0.270*	0.133	0.009	-0.139	0.175+	-0.079	-0.153
24. Band	0.098	0.035	-0.144	0.143	0.091	0.226*	0.096
25. Main subgenre	-0.097	0.100	0.013	-0.112	0.052	-0.166+	-0.207*
26. Ethnicity	-0.014	0.022	0.037	-0.066	-0.031	-0.087	-0.054
27. Nationality	0.144	0.051	-0.156	0.142	0.073	-0.028	0.018

(Continued)

	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.
12. Smile	0.099						
13. At the camera	0.101	-0.081					
14. In-studio photos	-0.016	-0.015	-0.004				
15. Hat	-0.052	-0.166+	0.004	0.113			
16. Glasses	-0.270*	0.110	0.033	0.062	-0.052		
17. Hardness	0.067	-0.143	-0.135	0.172+	0.018	-0.124	
18. N. of produced subgenres	-0.104	0.008	-0.021	0.207*	0.026	0.108	-0.083
19. Unusual multiple-subgenre membership	-0.103	0.038	-0.094	0.148	0.099	0.117	0.129
20. Number of releases	0.012	0.058	-0.023	0.301*	-0.099	0.016	0.008
21. Live photos	0.022	0.257*	-0.046	-0.352*	0.124	-0.103	-0.294*
22. Duplicated photos	0.208*	0.204*	-0.028	-0.167+	-0.068	0.020	-0.200*
23. Gender	0.096	0.096	-0.213*	-0.118	0.035	-0.061	-0.070
24. Band	-0.037	0.096	-0.091	0.112	-0.018	-0.081	-0.108
25. Main subgenre	0.092	-0.123	-0.090	0.211*	-0.096	0.047	0.441*
26. Ethnicity	0.160	0.022	0.143	-0.015	-0.223*	-0.248*	-0.148
27. Nationality	-0.032	0.142	-0.064	0.035	0.052	0.070	-0.040

(Continued)

	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.
19. Unusual multiple-subgenre membership	0.554*						
20. Number of releases	0.588*	0.282*					
21. Live photos	-0.119	-0.236*	-0.149				
22. Duplicated photos	-0.092	-0.160	-0.162	0.243*			
23. Gender	0.069	-0.028	0.144	0.129	0.052		
24. Band	0.011	-0.096	0.036	0.028	0.052	-0.087	
25. Main subgenre	-0.022	-0.069	0.244*	-0.129	-0.096	0.036	-0.086
26. Ethnicity	-0.054	-0.051	-0.257*	0.126	0.066	-0.111	-0.008
27. Nationality	0.165	0.179+	0.139	-0.135	-0.043	0.067	0.006

(Continued)

	25.	26.
26. Ethnicity	-0.113	
27. Nationality	-0.083	-0.197*

Table 3. Odds of being visually garish.

	Model 1. Controls	Model 2. DV: Visual Garishness	Model 3. DV: Color Inconsistency	Model 4. DV: Icon Defection	Model 5. Penalized Logistic
Musical Eclecticism		2.771*** (1.037)	2.986*** (1.138)	2.331*** (0.868)	2.771*** (1.069)
B&W photos	-1.257*** (0.379)	-1.319*** (0.427)	-1.355*** (0.406)	-0.787*** (0.199)	-1.319*** (0.415)
Smiles	0.387 (0.307)	0.514* (0.301)	0.396 (0.269)	0.684** (0.274)	0.514 (0.333)
At the camera	0.021 (0.286)	0.028 (0.294)	-0.200 (0.232)	0.140 (0.158)	0.028 (0.252)
In-studio photos	0.066 (0.198)	0.030 (0.218)	-0.355* (0.186)	-0.291 (0.191)	0.030 (0.232)
Hat	-0.317 (0.303)	-0.278 (0.267)	0.287 (0.222)	-0.290 (0.177)	-0.278 (0.345)
Glasses	0.055 (0.137)	0.017 (0.145)	0.269** (0.136)	-0.005 (0.147)	0.017 (0.150)
Hardness	-0.209 (0.274)	-0.324 (0.276)	-0.195 (0.224)	-0.222 (0.286)	-0.324 (0.297)
Number of releases	-0.003 (0.010)	-0.028 (0.020)	-0.020 (0.019)	-0.033** (0.016)	-0.028 (0.019)
Live photos	-0.614 (1.005)	-0.908 (1.139)	0.341 (0.799)	0.887 (0.848)	-0.908 (1.139)
Gender: Female	0.945 (0.986)	1.654* (0.982)	2.729** (1.237)	1.133 (0.827)	-1.654 (1.114)
Constant	0.023 (1.555)	-0.028 (1.653)	1.243 (1.235)	1.000 (1.163)	3.280 (2.889)
Observations	100	100	100	100	100
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.294	0.390	0.462	0.350	—
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup>	18.36**	21.34**	28.60**	33.28***	—

Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance codes: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table 4. Influence of style typologies on the likelihood (Model 6 and 7) and progressive odds (Model 8) of occupying a higher position in the ranking.

	Model 6. OLS Controls	Model 7. OLS	Model 8. Ordered Logit
Type 1. Garish Eclectic		32.332*** (10.210)	5.116*** (1.427)
Type 2. Garish Specialist		20.348 (16.250)	3.186* (1.639)
Type 3. Plain Eclectic		-9.810 (12.500)	-0.983 (1.133)
Hardness	22.874*** (3.714)	25.419*** (3.263)	7.484*** (0.570)
Number of releases	0.054 (0.172)	0.023 (0.176)	-0.000 (0.019)
Unusual multiple-subgenre membership	25.154 (67.631)	29.467 (70.192)	5.489 (10.162)
Live photos	1.187 (15.539)	0.784 (12.613)	-0.274 (1.249)
Duplicated photos	-67.942*** (12.233)	-62.646*** (11.515)	-6.991*** (1.851)
Gender: Female	-21.241 (21.709)	-24.161 (20.032)	-3.395 (3.439)
Band	-0.683 (10.012)	-8.657 (10.285)	-0.685 (1.167)
Ethnicity: African-American	34.973 (39.619)	30.945 (33.159)	1.618 (3.175)
Ethnicity: Latino	-67.454 (48.144)	-53.596 (48.126)	-20.345*** (6.155)
Ethnicity: Caucasian	36.796 (29.201)	44.441* (24.734)	3.152 (2.253)
Constant	-78.691 (50.457)	-83.453* (46.089)	
Observations	100	100	100
R <sup>2</sup>	0.590	0.671	0.283 (pseudo)

Note. Each model also includes the multinomial control variables Main Subgenre and Nationality. Constant cut intervals of the Ordered Logit Model: (1) 31.615\*\*\*; (2) 33.366\*\*\*; (3) 34.491\*\*\*; (4) 35.399\*\*\*; (5) 36.242\*\*\*; (6) 37.094\*\*\*; (7) 38.048\*\*\*; (8) 39.174\*\*\*; (9) 40.981\*\*\*. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance codes: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table 5. Quantile regression of the likelihood of occupying a higher position in the ranking.

	Model 9.								
	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	.9
Type 1. Garish Eclectic	-9.202 (29.489)	-1.497 (26.377)	32.347* (19.467)	37.910* (19.716)	20.194 (15.704)	24.237** (10.785)	21.572*** (7.996)	20.715*** (7.756)	9.865 (7.999)
Type 2. Garish Specialist	9.833 (10.195)	-8.249 (13.452)	-6.745 (22.168)	-9.797 (24.474)	-13.448 (25.055)	17.659 (24.057)	16.317 (14.505)	13.945 (11.325)	5.581 (13.038)
Type 3. Plain Eclectic	-3.148 (9.584)	2.434 (13.773)	6.588 (14.319)	5.865 (15.805)	-7.025 (14.470)	-10.104 (8.505)	-13.657*** (4.167)	-16.206* (8.701)	-17.073 (10.694)
Constant	1.269 (13.161)	-0.513 (16.402)	28.147 (19.700)	28.062 (18.971)	25.892 (18.578)	25.219 (20.235)	26.779* (15.912)	30.476 (21.048)	86.490*** (27.641)
Obs.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note. The model also includes Hardness, Number of releases, and Unusual multiple-subgenre membership.

Standard errors in parentheses. Significance codes: \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$